

LD BRIEFS

Mission Is Canceled

— This week's mission of the Space Administration announced the flight, which was scheduled to launch a satellite that would monitor the progress of the war in Lebanon. The mission was canceled because of technical difficulties.

o Negotiate With

General Ghafer Nimr, president of the National Front, is expected to negotiate with the Lebanese government. The Front has been active in the conflict, and its leaders have been arrested.

Pershing-2 Exer

— The U.S. Army has modified its West Germany exercise. The exercise was canceled because of technical difficulties. The Army is now planning a new exercise.

Failed for Orly Bom

Armenians accused of a July 1983 Orly airport bombing. The bombing was a failure. The Armenians were not responsible for the bombing.

Save UN Farm Ag

Representatives of Western countries agreed on the outlines of a plan to help farmers in the Third World. The plan is to provide financial aid to farmers.

rt Patient Has Sur

By AP — Blood on the chest of an artificial heart was the sign of a major breakthrough in the development of a heart transplant.

Releasing 31 Iraq

A Saudi Arabian newspaper reported that 31 Iraqi prisoners of war have been released. The prisoners were held in Saudi Arabia.

Abducted in Ethio

Members of a French military crew were abducted in Ethiopia. The crew was on a mission to provide humanitarian aid.

d at Embassy in

Police officers in Athens arrested a man at the U.S. Embassy. The man was suspected of being involved in a terrorist attack.

rd

A police officer in London was killed in a shooting. The officer was on duty when the shooting occurred.

AMERICAN TOPICS

Nader Declares War On Bogus Presidents

Ralph Nader, the consumer advocate, has written to President Ronald Reagan urging him to speak out against the commercial exploitation of the American flag. Nader says that the flag is being used to sell products and services.

Acknowledging that the practice is beyond the bounds of government regulation, Mr. Nader nevertheless wrote, "As president of the United States, you are in the pre-eminent position to be the custodian of matters relating to presidential taste and decorum. You can take the proper opportunity to urge that businesses rein in their promotional additions and permit the historical record, not advertising sleaze, to speak for our past presidents and founders."

In recent examples, actors have impersonated Thomas Jefferson in bank commercials, Abraham Lincoln extolling a large corporation's wisdom and character, and George Washington hawking Datsun automobiles.

Contraceptive Ads Debut on Television

Local television stations in the United States, some of them network affiliates, have begun broadcasting commercials for female contraceptives, with very little adverse comment from viewers. The products advertised most often are diaphragms and chemical sponges. The pill, requiring a prescription, is banned from TV advertising by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

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Short Takes

U.S. postal investigators have compiled a list of corporations that send their executives overseas with suitcases stuffed with letters and parcels to be "re-mailed" in a country with lower rates. They say this practice could be illegal, and have turned the list over to the Justice Department, which is investigating. Van Seagraves, publisher of the Business Mailers Review newsletter, says the list "is almost a Who's Who of American business."

While the U.S. cost of living rose less than 4 percent in 1984, the cost of really living, as Reuters puts it, went up more than twice as fast: the prices of 13 luxury items listed by the New York office of Moët and Chandon, the champagne house, rose 8.3 percent. The list includes items like caviar, truffles, smoked salmon and diamond bracelets. Moët said mink coats now average \$12,650 each, or 15 percent more than in 1983.

Notes About People

Rosalynn Carter, 57, wife of Jimmy Carter, the former president, says Democratic Party officials in Georgia have talked to her about running against Senator Mack Mattingly, a Republican, in 1986. She says she has no plans now to do so; she and her husband are writing a book on the unnecessary causes of death and disease in the United States.



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Integration in Selma Still a Dream

Reverend Frederick D. Reese, a veteran civil rights leader who, as a junior high school principal, sought unsuccessfully last summer to unseat Mr. Smitherman. "But we still have a long way to go. There is not a genuine type of caring. What you see, in most cases, is just surface deep."

This is, for example, a city where nearly 1,000 white students attend two private academies that were founded, amid the tumult of desegregation, with the purpose of excluding blacks. The Selma Country Club has no black members and until two years ago would not allow a black dance band inside. And there are still two chapters of the Elks Club, one for blacks and one for whites.

J.L. Chestnut, a black lawyer and civil rights activist, said: "While there is integration, and there have been changes, there is a separation of black and white here to an extent almost as widespread as it was 20 years ago. The overall picture is one of two societies living, in many ways, in tandem."

By and large, neighborhoods are still segregated by choice, and he says there is little social interaction between the races. "When measured against the 1960s, when fewer than 300 of the 15,115 eligible blacks in Selma and surrounding Dallas County were registered to vote, the differences are dramatic."

But what blacks still do not have in Selma is effective political or economic power. Although blacks make up more than half the population in Dallas County, only one black has been elected to any county office there since Reconstruction.

NATO Chief, Goldwater Urge Release Of Spy Photos

By George C. Wilson

WASHINGTON — The United States should release top-secret intelligence photos to the public to convince European allies that the Warsaw Pact must be combated with higher defense spending, according to General Bernard W. Rogers and Senator Barry Goldwater.

General Rogers, head of the U.S. European Command, said Friday that European governments within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were reluctant to call for higher military spending in the face of public opposition.

The way out of this problem, he said at a hearing of the Senate Armed Services Committee, was to publish photographs obtained by U.S. intelligence services on the Warsaw Pact military buildup.

General Rogers mentioned fuel pipelines being laid from the east toward the west as part of the photographic evidence that would be helpful in persuading Europeans that they confronted an increasing threat from the Warsaw Pact. He said he had already urged, unsuccessfully, that the pictures be released.

Mr. Goldwater, the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said intelligence officials had been telling him "for the last 20 years" that they could not release photos of the Warsaw Pact buildup because it would reveal U.S. reconnaissance capabilities.

"If the Soviets haven't figured that out by now," Mr. Goldwater said, "they're not as smart as I think they are."

He said a few "hard-headed" intelligence officials were blocking the release of the pictures, most of them presumably gathered by satellite. But he added that the United States now had "a hard-headed" president who would insist they be released once he understood the problem.

Still Overmatched

Bill Keller of The New York Times reported from Washington: General Rogers said Friday that NATO military forces continued to be overmatched by the Warsaw Pact and would be forced to surrender or resort to nuclear weapons within days of a Soviet attack.

He said NATO conventional forces would quickly be overrun because of shortages of munitions, a lack of bomb-proof shelters for aircraft and because the United States did not have the planes to get reinforcements to Europe in time.

General Rogers also said he believed that the European allies were paying an "equitable share" to



Barry Goldwater

build up NATO forces, and urged Congress not to pressure them for more military spending by threatening to cut U.S. troops there.

The general's testimony to the Senate Armed Services Committee came as some members of Congress prepared to reexamine NATO's military operations.

Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, who last year urged cuts in the number of U.S. troops to pressure the Europeans, said NATO must do more to beef up conventional weapons.

Senator Carl Levin, Democrat of Michigan, said there was a widespread feeling that the allies should relieve the United States of some of the costs of defending Europe.

He quoted from a January study by the Congressional Budget Office that said the United States paid \$819 per person on the military, while West Germany and Norway spent less than half that amount and Japan spent \$93.

General Rogers said such studies distorted the cost-sharing by counting U.S. forces held in reserve at home.

"The allies are bearing a fairly equitable share of the common burden," he said, adding, "If we're going to convince the Western Europeans to do more, you can't do it by threatening to withdraw our troops."

The deficiencies in NATO forces, he said, include the following:

• Shortages of munitions and other supplies. While the United States has set a goal of stocking 30 days' worth of ammunition in Europe, most European nations fall far short of that.

• A lack of bomb-proof hangars for the airplanes that would be rushed to Europe in the first 10 days of battle.

• Too few aircraft to move in reinforcements. Asked by Mr. Levin if the United States could meet its current battle plan, which calls for moving 10 divisions to Europe in 10 days, General Rogers said, "We do not have the capability, no."

• Outdated chemical weapons that would not deter the Soviet Union from a chemical attack.

Article Raises Press-Security Issue

Reporter Denied Access After Story on N-Arms

By Gerald M. Boyd

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The question of whether to publish information with national security implications has long been a sensitive one for both the American press and the government. But the issue took a new turn last week when a State Department official barred his staff from speaking with a New York Times reporter after The Times published an article on U.S. nuclear planning.

A senior White House official, who asked not to be identified, gave details Saturday on White House involvement in the article, saying President Ronald Reagan's national security adviser, Robert C. McFarlane, had directed the State Department to assist the reporter preparing the article.

The article, written by Leslie H. Gelb, was published in The Times on Feb. 13 and in the International Herald Tribune on Feb. 14. It reported that the United States had contingency plans for placing nuclear weapons in Canada, Iceland, Bermuda and Puerto Rico but had not informed the host governments.

The article also said that reports of the plans led to sharp public debate in Canada and Iceland.

The senior White House official said Saturday that Mr. McFarlane, in an attempt to minimize potential national security breaches, had authorized a State Department official to assist the reporter. This official and Mr. Gelb said Mr. Gelb had proposed to limit the scope of the

story to information already published in newspapers abroad, even though the reporter had in his possession more sensitive information.

Afterward, Lieutenant General John T. Chain Jr., director of the State Department Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, issued a directive barring his staff from further contacts with Mr. Gelb. General Chain said the article had included "classified information, the release of which is harmful to the United States."

General Chain ordered the removal of Mr. Gelb's photograph from the bureau's waiting room. Mr. Gelb was director of the bureau from 1977 to 1979.

A senior White House official said Saturday: "I don't know how much Chain knew about how the reporter handled it at the time. You just have to look at his point of view as someone holding the job that Les had before and who had a personal reaction to it."

Officially, White House aides have refused to comment on the matter, referring inquiries to the State Department. On Friday, Robert B. Sims, the deputy White House press secretary for foreign affairs, said, when asked if General Chain's action had been proper:

"I wouldn't get into a judgment on the State Department on this. I think they would have to speak for themselves about the way they handled it there."

The White House role while the article was being prepared had not been previously reported.

A senior administration official said Mr. McFarlane had authorized State Department cooperation "to find out what, if any, valid information Mr. Gelb had" and to minimize any danger to national security.

"We preferred the article not be published, obviously," the official said, "but we wanted to minimize any danger to national security if the decision made by the managers of the newspapers was to publish."

Mr. Gelb said Saturday: "The Times editors and I were concerned about genuine national security as well as news. Therefore, we agreed at the outset to limit the story to those four countries where the contingency plans had already been publicly disclosed. I informed the administration of this from the start."

"I further told administration officials that we would fully explain what a contingency plan was and, specifically, that it was strictly a Pentagon plan that did not even have presidential approval yet, let alone the approval of foreign governments."

After the article was published, Mr. Gelb said, officials from the State Department, the Pentagon and the White House told him they believed it had been responsibly done, although they wished it had not been published.

While Mr. Gelb was gathering information from the State Department, Secretary of State George P. Shultz asked The Times not to publish it.

U.S. Receives Plan to Make Its Embassies More Secure

By Don Oberdorfer

WASHINGTON — The U.S. State Department has undertaken what is likely to be the biggest embassy-building program in U.S. history after learning that more than half of the 262 U.S. embassies and other diplomatic posts do not meet minimum security standards established after last September's terrorist bombing of the U.S. Embassy annex in Beirut.

A high-level advisory panel headed by retired Admiral Bobby R. Inman, former director of the National Security Agency, reported to Secretary of State George P. Shultz last month that 139 of the overseas posts must be replaced or "significantly overhauled" to meet the new standards.

According to initial State Department estimates, it will cost \$3.1 billion to bring these embassies and consulates up to the new standards. The recommended program includes purchase of land and the design, construction and furnishing of many new buildings. About two-thirds of the funds would be needed in the volatile Middle East.

These sums would be partially offset by the sale of existing U.S. land and buildings no longer suitable for U.S. missions because of the threat of terrorism.

One of the most important and most expensive new standards for U.S. embassies is a security zone of at least 100 feet (30 meters) outside major buildings as protection against car and truck bombs such as those that have damaged or destroyed U.S. Embassy buildings in Beirut and the U.S. and French troop compounds in Beirut.

Such security zones are almost impossible to arrange in crowded downtown areas, where many U.S. diplomatic buildings have been located for public and official convenience.

Admiral Inman's group, officially known as the Advisory Panel on Overseas Security, was appointed by Mr. Shultz last July to advise on security threats overseas in the next 10 years and how to counter them.

Among recommendations of the Inman panel, according to the State Department, is to convene a board of inquiry in the event of terrorist incidents to assess accountability for possible security lapses. The State Department investigated responsibility for the Sept. 20 truck bombing of the U.S. Embassy annex in Beirut, in which two Americans and about 20 Lebanese were killed.

John B. Kelly Jr., Olympic Official, Dies

PHILADELPHIA (AP) — John B. Kelly Jr., 57, the U.S. Olympic Committee president and brother of the late Princess Grace of Monaco, died Saturday while jogging, police said.

Mr. Kelly's body was found at a city intersection about 9:30 A.M., according to a Philadelphia police spokesman.

The cause of death was not determined in an autopsy conducted Saturday, the spokesman said. Earlier, he had blamed the death on a heart attack.

Mr. Kelly competed in the Olympic Games in 1948, 1952, 1956 and 1960. He won a bronze medal in the single sculls in the 1956 Olympics in Melbourne. He was elected president of the Olympic committee last month, a position he said that he had "looked forward to for a long time."

Tjalling C. Koopmans, 74, Nobel Economist

NEW HAVEN, Connecticut (NYT) — Dr. Tjalling C. Koopmans, 74, co-winner of the 1975 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science for his theories on the optimal allocation of resources, died Tuesday at Yale-New Haven Hospital.

The Dutch-born Dr. Koopmans, of Hamden, Connecticut, shared the prize with Leonid Kantorovich, a Soviet economist, for their work, independent of each other, in developing mathematical solutions to problems faced by most enterprises: maximizing production with limited resources or minimizing the cost of producing an assortment of goods.

Other deaths: Olgivanna Lloyd Wright, 85, collaborator and wife of Frank Lloyd Wright and, since his death in 1959, the keeper of his architectural legacy, on Friday, of a heart attack in Scottsdale, Arizona.

Sir Iain Moncreiffe of that Ilk, 65, genealogist and chairman of Debreit's Peerage, a guide to Britain's aristocracy, from 1977 to 1981, in London on Wednesday.

Douglas Muggenridge, 56, managing director of the BBC's External Service broadcasts, in London on Tuesday after a long illness.

William Stringfellow, 56, a lawyer, author and Episcopalian lay theologian active in radical politics in the 1960s, Saturday in Providence, Rhode Island.

Eugene List, 67, U.S. pianist, on Friday in New York City.

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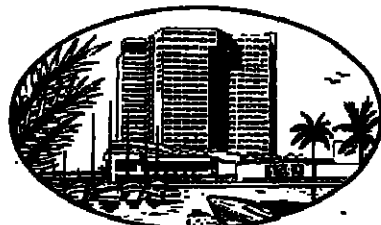
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Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

The Road Out of Lebanon

There is really only one thing to be said about the unrest and violence flaring in southern Lebanon, where Israeli troops are under continuing fire from the local people and now from units of the Lebanese Army, which is not known as much of a fighting force. The Israelis should get out. They were welcomed by many Lebanese in 1982 for ousting the Palestine Liberation Organization and for offering a kind of partnership to the Christians, but they have worn out that welcome and are now regarded simply as an occupying force. They have no legitimate business in Lebanon beyond ensuring the security of their frontier.

In February the Israeli forces pulled out of Sidon and its environs in what was intended to open a careful, three-stage withdrawal. The working theory was to reduce the ratio of hostile Shiite Muslims and Palestinians in the population under occupation. But the Israeli forces found themselves abandoning a natural line at the Awali river for a more exposed position, and Shiite actions have increased. Some Israelis now fear that this particular terrorism will follow them back into Israel. Meanwhile, the resistance intensifies, producing harsher retaliation, more terror and new casualties: the familiar cycle.

Why does Israel withdraw so slowly? Partly because of the reluctance of Likud, which was responsible for going deep into Lebanon in 1982, to acknowledge the need to cut Israel's losses now that the party shares power with Labor. But to other Israelis it is apparent that to drag on in Lebanon is to play into the hands of the Syrians and others who see a profit in having Israel bleed. By staying on, moreover, Israel creates new friction with the United Nations, whose peacekeepers and diplomatic auspices it needs to cover its withdrawal.

Israel had thought to leave behind friendly Lebanese. But since the Israeli occupying forces left Sidon, Shites and others have been killing and intimidating those friendly Lebanese. As its last line of defense, Israel will have to rely on forces stationed on its own territory.

This will leave southern Lebanon to the Lebanese: to the army and government, which are making a last-ditch effort to gain prestige by becoming patrons of Israeli withdrawal, and to the communities and their militias, which, freed from the Israeli distraction, are having to face the full consequences of their own bitter rivalries. It is not a pretty picture, but it is Lebanon's. It is Lebanon's, that is, unless Syria can play the pacifier's role it always claims and help settle Lebanon down.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

Uncle Tangles With Nick

The U.S. quarrel with Nicaragua is acquiring the day-to-day suspense of a television soap, "Uncle Knows Best." Uncle is rich, powerful and short-tempered. His scapegoat nephew, Nick, recklessly rejects Uncle's values and seeks the protection of a bad crowd, the Red Beards. They arm him with switchblades and he says he won't change his ways or friends until Uncle leaves him alone.

Uncle thinks Nick is ruining the neighborhood. He seems to be supplying switchblades to other rebels. An example must be made. Uncle cuts off Nick's allowance, but that doesn't work. The family won't let Uncle send the Marines. In desperation, he has his company organize a pick-up army, the Whitecoats, to make life wretched for Nick.

Last week, Nick offered to stop buying switchblades and to send a few Red Beards home. But Uncle calls it all a trick and insists that Cousin Tip scrounge up the money to keep paying the Whitecoats.

This drama has an inexorable air. President Reagan shows no inclination to compromise; neither do his military advisers or CIA operatives. And Secretary of State George Shultz, whatever his private views, hides them under a war bonnet. Even if Congress refuses to keep funding the "contra" army, an amalgam of decent democrats and former officers of Somoza's brutal National Guard, the administration can probably support it indefinitely with

And More Mouths to Feed

There are countries that have far too many mouths to feed. The photographs of Ethiopia's starving children demonstrate the consequences of drought, poor land use and overpopulation. Yet two months ago the Reagan administration, which was quick to send Ethiopia short-term help, denied long-term help that is needed just as much.

The Reagan administration refused \$17 million in aid to the International Planned Parenthood Federation because something less than 1 percent of its total funds — none of it federal money — goes to abortion-related services. In so doing, the administration dealt a devastating blow to an organization that is the primary network for family planning programs all over the world. The move wiped out the fragile web of such services in Ethiopia and caused the cancellation of planned programs in 17 other African countries.

Now the administration wants to magnify that blow by placing similar conditions on U.S. aid to many other nongovernmental program sponsors, conditions that it could not

legally impose on domestic organizations. The Agency for International Development proposes a clause in its contracts with population-planning groups asking that they monitor not only the uses of the federal aid, but also of all funds they receive. If any funds, even raised from private sources within the recipient country, are used even to advise a woman about the availability of abortion, the federal money will be cut off. Foreign governments would remain exempt from this proposal. They are required only to keep funds provided by the federal government away from abortion-related activities. That, perhaps, is the shaky way the administration plans to defend itself against charges of manipulating other countries' population policies.

Unless Congress intervenes, AID's new contract will become one more tool in the anti-abortion campaign. Instead of promoting life, the administration will help to set the stage for yet more photographs of cadaverous children in yet another season of death.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

Other Opinion

The Death of a Nation

The UN report accusing the Soviet Union of widespread human rights violations in Afghanistan is extraordinary, horrifying and timely — a devastating indictment of Soviet behavior. The report confirms [that] Soviet forces have been carrying out a deliberate policy of massacring civilians, bombing and

shelling villages, and summarily executing captured guerrillas. There has been a massive displacement of people, the flight of some 4 million, and food shortages. A nation is dying. It is not often that a UN body attacks the Soviet Union in this manner, but it would be surprising if it changed the situation in Afghanistan, or elsewhere.

— The Daily Telegraph (London).

FROM OUR MARCH 4 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1910: Mob Lynches Dallas Defendant
NEW YORK — Another serious outbreak of mob fury is reported from Dallas, Texas, where a negro named Brooks was torn from the custody of his jailers and lynched by a crowd of 2,000 people. Brooks was placed in the dock [on March 3] and charged with assaulting a two-year-old white child, but before the case had gone further a body of men in the court made a sudden movement towards the prisoner and brought the proceedings to an abrupt close. They dragged Brooks from the dock in spite of the wardens on guard. Breaking open the windows of the courtroom, which was on the second floor, they hurled their victim to confederates waiting in the street below. The negro was seriously injured by the fall, but the crowd threw themselves upon him and after seriously beating him, hanged him and riddled the body with bullets.

1935: Greek Revolt Spreads to Crete
ATHENS — With the greater part of the island of Crete in the hands of the rebels, and with rumors that the revolution which started here [on March 1] has spread to Thrace, Greece is facing the gravest crisis in its history since its defeat at the hands of the Turks in 1921. Eleutherios Venizelos, 71-year-old Cretan statesman and iron man of Greek politics for twenty-five years, is leading the new movement. The Greek rebels hold the greater part of Crete. Reports that the revolution has also flared up in Thrace were confirmed. The revolutionary forces, consisting of the officers and crews of the nine warships which sped from Athens and which succeeded in reaching Crete, captured Candia as well as Cania and Reppimo, with the help of local troops, all Venizelist. Rebel destroyers in Souda Bay have been attacked by bombing squadrons.

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MX Noises Make It Hard to Hear Moscow

By George F. Kennan

NEW YORK — For weeks on end, we have been hearing assertions from senior figures in Washington to the effect that it is only the great buildup of America's military strength (presumably since late 1983) that has brought the Russians "back" (although it is not exactly that) to the arms negotiation table and now we find ourselves assured that only the completion of the MX missile program, as urged by the Reagan administration, could give the Russians the incentive to deal seriously with us at that table.

The first assertion is unproved and highly unlikely. The second strikes me as pure nonsense. There is no reason to suppose that the real but modest improvement in U.S. nuclear capability that has taken place since strategic arms control talks were broken off has in any real way affected the Soviet attitude toward the coming talks.

It is much likelier that the Soviet consent to join in these talks was inspired primarily by the impression conveyed to Moscow from a number of sources that President Reagan, in entering upon his second term in office, was serious in his desire to get on with arms control and to lower the tensions in Soviet-American relations. To this was no doubt added the realization by the Soviet leaders that their abstention from the negotiating process was being successfully exploited against them at the propaganda level.

But behind all this there also lay something even more serious, a possibility (even a probability) that the administration has studiously declined to recognize — the possibility that the Soviet leadership might really have come to the conclusion that a continuation of the nuclear arms race held no promising advantages for anyone and that it would be to their own interest to get on, if possible, with a significant abatement of it. This conclusion would not have been unreasonable. Nor would it necessarily have

been a sign of exceptional virtue on their part. As for the MX, what is at stake here is no more than a moderate increase in quantities of nuclear overkill already so staggering that a few missiles more or less do little to change the general problem. The Russians will see in the pressures the administration is now bringing to bear on

Evidence suggests that the Soviet side is profoundly skeptical of the Reagan administration's seriousness on arms control.

Congress in this connection one more symptom of the spirit in which the administration is approaching the new talks — and that, of course, the Kremlin will have to take into account. But this will not necessarily modify the Russians' negotiating position. Why should it influence them, unless they believe that the MX program is really expendable for negotiating purposes?

Aside from the fact that senior governmental officials have repeatedly stated that it is not negotiable, the Russians know very well that no such program — into which billions of dollars have already been invested and on which thousands of people are now dependent for their livelihood — could really be played with as a "bargaining chip" by negotiators in Geneva. Any further funding Congress decides to devote to the MX program will appear to Moscow as a fait accompli, and will be evaluated accordingly.

Evidence suggests that the Soviet side, in en-

tering upon these new arms talks, will be acting in a spirit of profound skepticism as to the seriousness of the administration's desire to get on with arms control. Nothing in the preparation for the talks at the American end could have encouraged them to take any other attitude.

Neither the reiteration of the offensive insinuation that they have been frightened into returning to the table, nor the known attitudes of certain of those chosen to conduct the talks from the American side, nor the uncertainties created by the Strategic Defense Initiative, nor the recent commandeering of the space shuttle for military purposes, nor the many official assurances that they, the Russians, were about to be softened up by further demonstrations of American "resolve" (resolve to do what?) can have been helpful in overcoming Moscow's skepticism.

Would all this not rather have encouraged them in the belief that the administration's readiness to participate in the coming talks was nothing more than window dressing to mollify some of America's nervous allies and whatever remains of the country's peace movement?

That the Russians should be coming in this frame of mind to a set of negotiations on which the entire future of the arms race may well depend is a dangerous circumstance. The administration would do well to bear this in mind. Real strength, quietly maintained and not openly brandished, can indeed be a useful support to diplomacy. Showy and questionable strength, too openly boasted about and relied on too exclusively for pressure on another government, can have precisely the contrary effect.

The writer, a former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, is professor emeritus at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. He contributed this column to The New York Times.

Attending To Famine's Early Signs

By Brian W. Walker

WASHINGTON — Africa is environmentally bankrupt. An entire continental breakdown is by no means impossible. Yet for thousands of years, African people lived in balanced harmony with their environment, never straining the carrying capacity of nature. By drawing on that experience and by monitoring food prices and other social phenomena that give early clues about impending problems, it may be possible to delay or prevent future famines.

Over the centuries, indigenous peoples developed survival patterns that enabled them to live in areas where it may not have rained for 10 years or more. This is because a series of survival thresholds are crossed before a family, village or community leaves home to become what we classify as "famine victims" or "environmental refugees."

During a drought's first year, the family lives off the surpluses of previous good years. In the second year, the men and older boys range farther afield selling their labor in the surrounding non-drought areas. The women walk great distances to sell what surpluses still remain. By the third and fourth years, people are selling off their livestock. In years five and six, household goods and family possessions are sold; in years seven and eight, personal possessions and jewelry. Toward the end of the decade, weapons are sold.

It is only then, when all possessions have been sold, that the community sets off to the nearest better-off area in search of food and wages. Once the community settles, the inevitable occurs: Food prices increase because of the extra strain on food resources.



Conversely, in the now saturated labor market, supply exceeds demand and wages fall.

Food shortages become acute in response to these two pressures, and eventually the enlarged community falls prey to hunger and is forced to move. Thus, small pockets of hunger merge and grow until eventually the government, or the world's news media, declares that there is a famine across a whole region.

"Famine" thus has much more to do with social and domestic behavior, with markets and the economy, than with nature. People and governments cause famines — not the climate.

If this sequence of survival mechanisms could be identified early on (in, say, the first two or three years) and remedial action taken through modest development aid — especially seeds, hand hoes, water pumps — the "famine" could be prevented or greatly minimized.

The cost of designing such a low-

cost early-warning system for famine prediction on a regional basis would be minuscule compared to the huge famine relief operation now present in many parts of Africa.

Possibly the most encouraging comment on Africa is that for thousands of years, before this century, there were virtually no disasters of the kind we have seen in the last two decades. It is not that the climate has radically changed; Africa has always experienced recurring cycles of drought and flood, as well as bush fires, without widespread suffering.

At the turn of the century, however, colonialism began to threaten the social fabric of traditional African communities. The whim of a handful of European colonial powers reduced 1,000 tribes to 50-odd nations. As independent states replaced the old colonial powers in the 1960s, deteriorating gathered momentum.

Yet the principles that sustained differing, often complex societies

across thousands of years still hold good today, and what has been done once surely can be done again. Though desperate, the situation is not beyond hope. Africa's vast reserves (including soil, water, sunshine and tree cover), the traditional wisdom of its people in agriculture and medicine and their innate buoyancy offer a formidable opportunity for escape from the poverty trap.

If governments and aid agencies would shift their development policies toward the landless and the small-scale rural producer, the soil could be given back its fertility, water could be husbanded and used to optimum effect and labor-intensive agriculture could re-emerge. This could lay the foundations of a prosperous modern economy.

The writer is president of the International Institute for Environment and Development. He contributed this column to The New York Times.

Terrorism: Its Roots Tell More Than its Branches

By William Pfaff

PARIS — In the West European and Middle Eastern terrorism of the last 20 years there has been little sign of overall direction by an external agency or foreign intelligence service. Had there been, life would have been made easier for police and security services.

The argument of the hidden hand is plausible in individual operations. The Libyan, Iranian and Syrian governments clearly have been responsible for certain terrorism. There was nothing to its left, until the Greens arrived. Communism in Italy had become a conservative force by the 1960s, and the Christian Democrats, originally a party of reform, were already emptied of idealism.

Sergio Romano, Italy's ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, has written that "the biography of [Italian] terrorists and intellectuals who have expanded and justified the terrorist option frequently reveals a double root. Christian and Marxist. Their cultural and political progress is often marked by the same stages: the Social Christian groups following in the footsteps of the Vatican Council, the youth organizations of the Communist Party, the Marxist or liberation 'groups'

Note that in West Germany and Italy in the 1970s, where two truly serious terrorist challenges to democratic government arose, there was no evident prospect of bringing about radical reform by action within the established political structures.

The West German Social Democratic Party was prospectively or actually the party of government. There was nothing to its left, until the Greens arrived. Communism in Italy had become a conservative force by the 1960s, and the Christian Democrats, originally a party of reform, were already emptied of idealism.

Sergio Romano, Italy's ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, has written that "the biography of [Italian] terrorists and intellectuals who have expanded and justified the terrorist option frequently reveals a double root. Christian and Marxist. Their cultural and political progress is often marked by the same stages: the Social Christian groups following in the footsteps of the Vatican Council, the youth organizations of the Communist Party, the Marxist or liberation 'groups'

culled' proliferating in the universities after 1968, and finally the clandestine organizations . . .

In this same period, however, the extreme left in Britain was able to infiltrate and obtain considerable influence over the Labor Party. In France, the Common Program of the Left was proclaimed, the Communists and Socialists alike scoring gains in the 1971 elections. The Social Democrats in other countries and claiming that in France a united left could, and would, change how people lived. In neither country was there an indigenous terrorist movement of consequence. There was only the marginal problem of the Irish Republican Army, and in France of Breton and Corsican nationalism.

But consider that in France today the idea that the left in power would transform lives is wholly discredited. The French Socialist government is on a centrist course, in the European mainstream, dealing with its problems in much the same way everyone else does, with much the same, unsatisfactory, results. The Communists are a spent force. There is no place, in

the party system, for the serious dissent, the radical idealist.

The Labor Party in Britain is by now deeply under the influence of the extreme left, but has also seen its electoral chances much diminished (although far from finished off). The miners' strike, from the start an implicitly revolutionary challenge of the Conservative government, has been humiliated and defeated. Where does the left now go? The "Green" strike saw a level of violence perhaps unprecedented in modern Britain. Does more violence lie in the future, as moderate or conservative government fails to answer big questions of social justice?

It would be preposterous to attempt serious prediction. The forces at work in all these countries are much too complex for that. But to give thought to the connections between terrorism and the political and social development of individual nations seems to me more useful than today's worry about where the guns and money come from. There are a lot of guns around, and money is only money. What counts is where the ideas come from.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Divide UNESCO

In response to "UNESCO Grants U.S. Status as Observer" (Feb. 18).

Most leading Western members of UNESCO have talked publicly of their wish to leave if all the changes they demand are not met by Director-General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow — as if UNESCO were his property. UNESCO has become unwieldy and highly political in recent years, but which UN agency is not political? Probably the only solution to UNESCO's problems is to break it up into regions, e.g., UNESCO Africa, UNESCO Americas, and so forth, handing over financial and governing responsibilities to the regions.

LAZARUS JAWIYAMBE, Brussels.

Don't Proliferate

Regarding the opinion column "A Case for Enlarging the Nuclear Club" (Feb. 11) by Ernest van den Haag:

The advocacy by Mr. van den Haag, a professor of jurisprudence no less, of selective nuclear weapons proliferation almost defies belief. He appears to argue that West Germany in particular would be an appropriate candidate to have its own nuclear weapons. This counsel of despair (if we can't beat it, join it) is misplaced for a number of reasons.

First, it would almost inevitably be the first step in a general collapse of the international nonproliferation regime. This is to be sure, a frail structure, but it exists and is all we have. Second, to encourage or enable

West Germany to maintain its own nuclear weapons would further destabilize an already knife-edge tension in Central Europe.

Third, particularly in the year when the Nonproliferation Treaty comes up for its third five-year review (to be held in Geneva in September), any such action by West Germany, any party to the treaty, would contravene and destabilize the treaty. The specter of nuclear proliferation along with the manifest failure of the nuclear-armed states to negotiate verifiable reductions in their arsenals is profoundly worrying. Mr. van den Haag's suggestion is no help at all.

DAVID LOWRY, European Proliferation Information Center, London.

On Policing Americans' Thoughts

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — It could happen at any time, visiting the United States. Now, on his return, KGB agents go over his luggage. They find American magazines and take them. They also take the citizen's address book and his diary, with 80 pages of notes on his trip. They ask who saw him in America and remark meaningfully that he had "many contacts."

That incident took place at the Miami airport, not in Moscow. The victim was an American, not a Russian. And the agents were from the FBI, not from the KGB.

It happened Jan. 16. Edward Haase of Kansas City, Missouri, was returning from two months in Nicaragua. When customs officials saw that he had been in Nicaragua, they told him an FBI agent wanted to interview him. The agent identified himself as Joe Miranda. According to an affidavit by Mr. Haase, the questioning began like this:

"Miranda asked me . . . whether I had been contacted by the government in Nicaragua, who I worked for there, why I was interested in Nicaragua, where I was born and went to school and whether I had been arrested. He concluded by saying that . . . the FBI had certain rights, including the right to search for subversive literature, and that he was going to look through my luggage."

The agent took Mr. Haase's personal address book and diary. He also took documents of a group supporting Nicaragua with which Mr. Haase works, and a five-page list of organizations concerned with Central America. According to Mr. Haase, "Agent Miranda asked whether these were pacifist groups."

Mr. Haase, 32, is an engineer who works for a radio station in Kansas City. He also does some freelance journalism. He had with him typed manuscripts of two articles he had written, one on the Nicaraguan election and one on a Roman Catholic religious holiday in Nicaragua. The FBI took those too.

A little later, as he was taken through the Customs offices, Mr. Haase saw Mr. Miranda and another man copying his diary and other items on a copying machine. Mr. Miranda returned the material to him, remarking that he "sure had a lot of contacts."

Mr. Haase got a lawyer, Michael Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York. Mr. Ratner telephoned the FBI office in Miami, was referred to a supervisor, Paul Phillips, and asked that all of the seized material be returned.

Mr. Phillips refused to return the material. He said the FBI was interested in it and that it was properly "disseminable." People were reviewing it, he said, and afterward information about it would be sent to the State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Late last month Mr. Ratner went to court, in Washington. Federal District Judge Thomas F. Jackson heard argument from him and the government, then issued a temporary restraining order that forbids dissemination of Mr. Haase's material and requires the agents to retrieve any information they have disseminated. Until further hearings, it must be put in "the personal custody" of the FBI director, William H. Webster.

That is where the incident of Edward Haase stands. Reading the court papers, I found myself stunned that such a thing could happen in the United States. Officials make mistakes, yes. But that Customs and FBI agents would openly behave like thought police, and that government lawyers should defend their behavior, seems incredible to me.

The climate that nurtures such lawlessness is evident. It is the paranoia of the Reagan administration toward Nicaragua. When President Reagan acts as if that tiny country were a mortal threat to the United States, it is not surprising that FBI agents think they may seize an American's intimate private documents to save other Americans from the threat.

Two years ago the Reagan administration had to abandon an attempt to take from three American journalists, who bought on the streets of Tehran, that reported documents from the seized U.S. Embassy. The administration's legal excuse then, that the books contained U.S. "secrets," did not wash. The attempt to declare Edward Haase's personal papers subversive and use them for intelligence purposes has no excuse.

Mr. Webster of the FBI has an honorable reputation. He and his Justice Department superiors should disavow this abuse of power now, and remind all FBI agents that the United States is not the Soviet Union or South Africa. Their job, and that of Customs agents, does not include policing the thoughts of Americans.

The New York Times.

Fears at Yalta

The postmortems on the anniversary of the Yalta conference failed to mention a factor that weighed heavily on the protagonists: the latent fear that the Western or Soviet side (as the case might be) would strike a separate deal with the Germans. As the war progressed, Stalin became paranoid with this fear. But also in the West the need to "keep the Russians in the war" at any price colored many Allied policies. For it was the Russians, as Churchill put it, who were killing the most Germans. Among the prices paid: the refusal to deal with Germany's anti-Nazi resistance, and even the Dresden bombing.

GEORGE H. VASSILCHIKOV, London.

By Henry A. Kissinger

Arms Debate Must Link Policy and Technology

THE United States is deep in the annual controversy over defense appropriations. Advocates of cuts trot out the perennial Pentagon rip-offs, invoke the urgent need to cut the deficit and appeal to Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger for flexibility.

Mr. Weinberger replies — in my view correctly — that spending for security and spending for the national welfare are not of the same character. Reducing domestic spending may cause inconvenience, even hardship; weakening defense could over time threaten the existence of America.

But the debate has so far failed to address the real issue, which is not money, but the inability to relate defense and arms control policy to new technologies.

As nuclear stockpiles have grown and nuclear war has become equivalent to mutual annihilation, the West has refused to face up to the psychological impossibility of continuing to rely on general nuclear war as a plausible strategy.

Such alternatives to all-out war as discriminatory targeting, conventional forces or strategic defense have remained futile and inadequate because of domestic controversies or the refusal to pay for them.

Arms control proposals have too often been inconsistent with the necessary adaptations to the new technology.

The present Pentagon organization and budget procedures do not permit a systematic resolution of these issues.

The Reagan Administration has tried to solve these problems by large increases in defense spending. But the additional resources do not of themselves solve doctrinal issues, especially when they perpetuate the problems that are at the heart of America's defense problem.

On the other hand, surgery on the defense budget would add another element of confusion to an already confused situation. It would lead to a bitter debate about the merit of individual weapons rather than the nature of U.S. strategy.

I therefore believe that the wisest course this year would be to keep the defense budget substantially intact. At the same time, the administration must use the time to deal with the basic issues of defense policy and organization.

Nothing is more important than to draw the proper conclusions from this fundamental fact: the strategy developed during the decades of nuclear monopoly and overwhelming strategic superiority is no longer feasible. In the early euphoric days it was possible for the West to threaten massive destruction as a counterweight to the Soviet manpower advantage. But once the Soviets developed large nuclear forces of their own

— as they did after the Cuban missile crisis — the West's strategic premises were not revised.

Some tinkering did take place. A theory was developed that established a level of industrial and civilian damage theoretically unacceptable to the Soviet Union. As the casualties of what came to be known as Mutual Assured Destruction amounted to mass extermination, an esoteric psychological wrinkle was added: it was not necessary, so the argument went, for the threat of mutual annihilation to be totally credible; the Soviets would not risk testing American credibility so long as the American threat was sufficiently apocalyptic.

This is the eighth in a series of 10 articles by the former U.S. secretary of state. The next will appear April 8.

But the vision of apocalypse was especially debilitating for open societies. Throughout history war could be justified as an instrument of national policy because the costs of defeat were plausibly worse than the costs of resistance. In the age of reciprocal extermination nuclear war itself seems to be an increasing number of democratic publics as the ultimate horror.

It will be difficult for historians to explain the intellectual paralysis that has thwarted a serious articulation of alternatives to general nuclear war. Part of it reflects profound divisions within the Western societies that cause some groups to support any new weapon regardless of underlying strategy and others to fight any new weapon in order to end the arms race.

U.S. presidents since Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford have sought to devise alternatives to indiscriminate civilian destruction. But new weapons designed for discriminating targets have had to run the gauntlet of arms control specialists and peace groups who think making nuclear war less destructive would make nuclear war more likely. No serious person can face nuclear war except with the deepest foreboding. But to refuse in a world of tens of thousands of warheads even to consider less apocalyptic alternatives is a sophisticated form of nihilism.

The better alternative of strengthening conventional forces has received lip service and, within the command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, considerable attention. But all democratic countries have recoiled before the financial burden of a serious conventional defense. The number of U.S. divisions has remained at 16 for two decades. Most of America's allies cling to immaculate deterrence — a heavy dependence on nuclear retaliation, even while many of

them are willing to invoke the American nuclear guarantee only so long as the consequences are confined to the United States and its population.

At the same time, arms control policy concerning conventional weapons is at loggerheads with military necessities. The official NATO position in the talks dealing with conventional forces would create a lower ceiling for them. Those negotiations are now hung up on what troops to count, not on the principle of a freeze that would perpetuate the imbalance which has been the essence of the West's strategic problems for two decades and which is made even more dangerous by the Soviet geographic proximity.

President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative is the most recent attempt to overcome the military dead-end. I support the concept, but I fear that the plethora of explanations offered on its behalf may turn it into a slogan in search of a mission.

The principal U.S. arms control negotiator, Max M. Kampelman, has advocated the defense of missile sites in the United States. This would do little to enhance the credibility of the nuclear deterrent since it would leave the U.S. populations exposed. The criteria laid down by Paul H. Nitze, the arms control adviser, for building a strategic defense system seem unlikely to be met. President Reagan, nearly alone, speaks of the need to defend the American population as a means to escape nuclear devastation.

But even if research proves this to be feasible, it will be a decade and a half before any such weapon can be built — and probably longer, since the administration has committed itself to negotiate before actual deployment.

The United States is in danger of justifying a strategic defense for the late 1990s by so emphasizing the horrors of nuclear war today that it will wind up with a strategy based on weapons it dares not use, stigmatized by an arms control policy that professes to seek to banish them without at the same time developing any sustainable alternative for the immediate future.

In this climate, a debate about budgetary levels is peripheral to the central strategic problem: the relation of means to ends and of weapons decisions to arms control policies. And surgery could be dangerous because it would shift in the debate to the wrong issues while perpetuating all current dilemmas. The merit of individual weapons is not the issue: a reexamination of U.S. overall strategy is.

UNFORTUNATELY, the current organization of the Defense Department is a principal obstacle to this effort. The National Security Act of 1947 established a Joint Chiefs of Staff representing the heads of the military services. The chairman is first among equals; the chiefs operate on the basis of consensus — a practice that tends to produce a large staff, masses of memoranda and the least common denominator.

This procedure would be only time-consuming had not modern technology destroyed the traditional distinctions between the missions of the services. Significant conflicts inevitably involve all of the services acting in concert with overlapping weapons systems.

Edward Luttwak in a seminal new book, "The Pentagon and the Art of War," has demonstrated the paralyzing impact of this state of affairs on operational planning and procurement.

The consequences for overall strategy are even more worrisome. Strategic planning occurs, if at all, in the Joint Commands, where the relevant services are brought together for specific missions. But the heads of the Joint Commands neither serve on the Joint Chiefs nor control their constituent elements in peacetime.

By contrast, the inevitable and natural concern of



Henry A. Kissinger

the service chiefs — with their competitive and often mutually exclusive mandates — is the future of their services, which depends on their share of the total budget. Their incentive is more to enhance the weapons they have under their exclusive control than to plan overall defense policy.

Interservice rivalry thus institutionalized is magnified by the extraordinary swings of congressional mood with respect to the defense budget. The sharp increase of the 1960s was followed by a relentless assault on defense expenditures in the 1970s. The build-up by the Reagan administration had strong support in the beginning; it now confronts growing opposition.

Faced with such a pendulum effect the service chiefs seek to protect their own by turning strategy into procurement. In periods of budgetary plenty they spread the increase over as many weapons categories as possible. In periods of budgetary stringency they tend to cut not the infamous \$10,000 wrench but something visible and painful to evoke the greatest degree of public backlash. This leads me to the following conclusions:

(a) The defense budget submitted for this year should be approved with at most cosmetic reductions. It is not suited for political compromises related to the deficit.

(b) Before the next budget is submitted top priority must be given to the development of a coherent defense strategy that takes into account the revolution in technology and that provides real and immediate alternatives to the concept of assured destruction. Personally I doubt that there is a cut-rate route to this objective.

(c) Arms control policy should be treated not as a negotiating tool after weapons are already designed but as an integral part of the budgetary cycle.

(d) The military organization of the Department of Defense should be revised. The powers of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs should be strengthened, his staff augmented and missions should be related to actual tasks.

Such an approach should remove national defense and arms control from partisan politics. The requirements of U.S. security do not change every four or eight years.

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Genscher Flies to Soviet For Unscheduled Talks

BONN — Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany flew to Moscow on Sunday for hastily arranged talks with his Soviet counterpart, Andrei A. Gromyko.

The Foreign Ministry announced Sunday that Mr. Genscher would meet Monday with Mr. Gromyko and stay in Moscow less than 24 hours. After a stop in Finland, he will make a previously unscheduled trip to Warsaw on Wednesday. It did not say on whose initiative the trip was arranged.

Diplomatic sources said Mr. Genscher would discuss the U.S.-Soviet arms talks starting in Geneva on March 12 and examine ways of reviving East-West détente.

They said Mr. Genscher's chief aim was to press Bonn's view that all European nations should be involved in a new drive to improve East-West relations and that this should not be left exclusively to the two superpowers.

Mr. Genscher will also urge Moscow to avoid reviving animosities between the Soviet Union and West Germany before the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe on May 8, the sources said.

"We do not expect any dramatic movement in German-Soviet relations, but we are hoping these talks will give them a nudge in the right direction," a source said.

The sources said Mr. Genscher would meet with General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish leader, during a six-hour stopover in Warsaw on Wednesday to work out a program for a postponed official visit.

Mr. Genscher called off a trip to Poland in November at the last minute after Warsaw objected to his plans to visit the grave of a murdered priest, Jerzy Popieluszko.

The sources said both the Moscow and Warsaw trips had been worked out hurriedly over the past few days after informal contacts showed Poland and the Soviet Union were interested in an early meeting with Mr. Genscher.

The visits seemed likely to be seen in West Germany as a boost for Bonn's foreign policy, after setbacks last year.

The East German and Bulgarian leaders called off proposed visits after Soviet press organizations criticized Bonn for trying to regain German territories lost to Poland and the Soviet Union after World War II.

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India's Rama Rao: Idol Seeks New Victory

By Sanjoy Hazarika
New York Times Service

ALLAMPURAM, India — N.T. Rama Rao was seated on the roof of a station wagon at the head of a 22-vehicle motorcade sweeping through the towns and villages of his native state.

Mr. Rama Rao, a former film actor who is now the chief minister, or political leader, of Andhra Pradesh, was playing one of the most crucial roles of his career. He was seeking a new mandate in bolting on Tuesday for the state legislature of Andhra Pradesh.

Mr. Rama Rao is leading a drive to defeat Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's Congress (I) Party for the third time in three years.

In the general election last December, Andhra Pradesh was the only state to resist the Gandhi electoral wave, and in the new state elections he hopes to win a bigger national role for himself than the one he has played so far.

About 280 million voters, or two-thirds of the electorate, are eligible to vote in the legislative elections in 11 of India's 21 states and in one

territory. The Congress (I) Party that Mr. Gandhi leads already controls eight of these legislatures. The balloting began Saturday and will resume Tuesday. The ballots are not to be counted until after Wednesday.

The eight states controlled by Mr. Gandhi's party that are holding elections are Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa. Also voting are Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Sikkim and the union territory of Pondicherry.

There were reports of violence Saturday night, including 20 deaths, in scattered incidents, principally in Bihar in northeastern India. The turnout was reported to be moderate.

Most of the national attention has focused on the election in Andhra Pradesh, southeastern state bordering on the Bay of Bengal. The Congress (I) Party is widely expected to win easily in all the other states, with the possible exception of Karnataka, which borders on Andhra Pradesh and where

the opposition Janata Party is waging a strong fight.

In Andhra Pradesh, even Mr. Rama Rao's critics acknowledge that he is well ahead of his opponents. A daylong drive under a blistering sun through the rich rice and sugar cane belt of the West Godavari district recently helped to explain why.

Entire villages emptied onto the road to greet Mr. Rama Rao in scores of unscheduled meetings. The villagers shouted slogans of support. Women threw rose petals at him, and some even washed the roads in his honor.

Crowds listened intently, almost rapturously, as the powerfully built figure with close-cropped hair and aquiline nose spoke. He cited his achievements, outlined his plans and urged the villagers to support him.

"We are not bothered about his party," said Valuri Ramakrishnan, a farmer from the village of Kori-mulli near here. "We are only concerned about Rama Rao, and we are with him wherever he is."

A companion, V. Ponduranga, said: "We are supporting him because of his good deeds. He also has promised lower electricity taxes for our farms."

The two were waiting with about 3,000 others near a small lake as the chief minister briefly rested before starting another round of campaigning.

At his public meetings, Mr. Rama Rao talks frequently about the "good deeds" cited by his supporters: rice at the equivalent of 9 cents a pound, free lunches for schoolchildren, mass housing projects, subsidies for village women to acquire saris and pensions for the old and widows.

Amid cheers and applause, especially from women, Mr. Rama Rao

said near here that he planned to amend laws to enable women to inherit land. He spoke in Telugu, the official language of Andhra Pradesh, a state of 53 million people.

The Telugu Desam, Mr. Rama Rao's party, and the Janata Party in Karnataka both came to power in January 1983 elections, in which, for the first time since independence, Congress (I) was defeated in the two states.

Both states dissolved their assemblies midway through their terms because of political instability. The 10 other legislatures up for election were to have completed their five-year terms in June.

In Andhra Pradesh, Congress (I) backed defectors from Mr. Rama Rao's party last summer in an effort to topple him. A state governor appointed by the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi dismissed Mr. Rama Rao as chief minister in August, but a surge of public support led to his reinstatement within a month.

In a recent interview here, Mr. Rama Rao said, "Andhra Pradesh has been a stage that has introduced me to the political scene of the country. I have no ambitions, I want to serve."

He said he expected to win more than the 202 seats that his party, when it was unified, controlled in the 294-member house in 1983.

Mr. Rama Rao, who won the leadership of Andhra Pradesh in January 1983, also spoke of a national opposition party that he said he planned to organize in May.

He said the party would seek to create a balance between New Delhi and the states, which he says are too dependent on the central government. "I want to do the best for my country," he said.



Posters of N.T. Rama Rao, left, and Rajiv Gandhi in Hyderabad, capital of Andhra Pradesh.

Pakistan Vote: A Sign of Relaxation?

Turnout, Results May Reflect Nudge Toward Civilian Rule

By Steven R. Weisman
New York Times Service

KARACHI, Pakistan — It was easy for President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq's critics to dismiss last week's election in Pakistan.

Hundreds of political figures had been arrested. Campaigning was hampered by a ban on political parties, processions, rallies and even loudspeakers. The government did not even bother to specify the powers of the National Assembly being elected.

Yet when the results were in, Pakistan had apparently nudged itself toward a semblance of representative government. After nearly eight years of martial law, it seemed possible that General Zia might

stop temporizing and restore a measure of civilian control.

"It is now plain that the people are politically as alive and awake today as ever before," said the newspaper Dawn, which called for "full constitutional and political freedom."

The election surprised the experts for several reasons. The turnout was nearly 53 percent, in spite of opposition calls for a boycott. And the electorate showed its independence by defeating seven members of General Zia's cabinet and dozens of his lower-level supporters.

Many analysts thought the election also showed the resilience and resourcefulness of General Zia, who they say has often been underestimated by his critics.

In Pakistan, the organized opposition may have misjudged him. Led by former officials who command broad support, these opponents include both followers and critics of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the prime minister who was deposed by General Zia and later executed.

Had they contested the election, they might have been successful enough to force General Zia to deal with them for the first time. Now they may be left on the sidelines. The election also surprised U.S. diplomats who reflect Washington's ambivalent feelings toward General Zia, an often frustrating and troublesome ally.

Time and again, American diplomats have been unable to predict his moves. Yet U.S. policy in the region is dominated by the fact that Washington has swallowed its misgivings and cast its lot with Pakistan.

General Zia's takeover in 1977 ushered in a particularly bitter period in Pakistan-U.S. relations.

First, he repeatedly broke his promise to hold elections. Then, his government tried and convicted Mr. Bhutto for complicity in the murder of a political opponent's

father. Despite appeals from President Jimmy Carter and other world leaders, Mr. Bhutto was hanged in April 1979.

Relations hit bottom after Nov. 21 of that year, when a mob destroyed the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, killing two Americans and two Pakistani employees, after a false report circulated that the United States had been involved in the seizure a day earlier of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, Saudi Arabia.

When General Zia refused to open his nuclear power program to full international inspection and safeguards, Mr. Carter suspended aid except for food assistance. There has been suspicion that Pakistan has attempted to make nuclear bombs.

Nazir Ahmed Vaid, a Pakistani in touch with officials in Islamabad, was indicted last July in Houston, on charges of trying to export timing devices that can trigger nuclear weapons. Pakistan said that Mr. Vaid had been acting on his own and again denied that it was making a bomb.

But numerous reports of Pakistani attempts to obtain nuclear weapons technology have prompted France and Canada to suspend their nuclear aid programs. Even Pakistani officials say they have developed the capacity to make atomic weapons, a prospect that also alarms many members of Congress.

In spite of these difficulties, the United States came to terms with Pakistan after December 1979, when the Soviet Union sent troops into Afghanistan, a neighbor of Pakistan.

In 1981, President Ronald Reagan and General Zia agreed to a six-year, \$3.2-billion military and economic aid package, including 40 F-16 jet fighters. India was alarmed, but Pakistan insisted that the planes would be used only to protect its northern border with Afghanistan. Pakistan has since managed to absorb nearly three million Afghan refugees.

The Reagan administration has tended to see a brighter side to General Zia's rule. U.S. officials say that, for all the reports of his repressive actions, he has not kept all political opponents in jail.

Zia Seeks to Bolster President, Limit Prime Minister's Powers

Reuters

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq has introduced constitutional amendments to increase the powers of the presidency he now holds and curtail those of future prime ministers.

The amendments to the suspended 1973 constitution will also create an 11-member military-civilian national security council to advise the government in a national crisis.

General Zia has been president since 1978 in addition to holding the all-powerful post of chief martial law administrator he assumed on seizing power in July 1977 from Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Mr. Bhutto was later hanged.

But now the office of president, which General Zia will hold for a further five years because of a referendum in December, will have sweeping powers, some previously exercised by the prime minister.

General Zia said the amended constitution would be revived in

stages as martial law was lifted in stages.

Under the 1973 constitution, the prime minister was elected by the national assembly. But with the amendments, the prime minister will be chosen by the president.

He will also appoint cabinet ministers, provincial governors, armed forces chiefs and be the armed forces supreme commander. Previously all these officials were appointed by the prime minister.

"That was a meaningless and ridiculous division of powers," General Zia said. "The prime minister should be powerful, but the president should also not be so powerless as to be ineffective."

General Zia announced the amendments after elections last week for a national assembly and four provincial assemblies that he barred political parties from contesting.

The opposition Movement for the Restoration of Democracy said General Zia had effectively demolished the parliamentary structure.

U.S. Sees Progress by South Africa On Apartheid

By Bernard Gwertzman
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration has issued a policy statement on South Africa that seeks to balance the administration's concern about the recent arrest of opposition leaders with continued backing for President P. W. Botha's program of change.

Faced with what it regards as a growing movement in the United States against its policy of seeking "constructive engagement" with the South African government, the administration insisted that changes in South Africa to alter its apartheid system were genuine. In recent weeks, there have been daily pickets at the South African Embassy and numerous calls in Congress for legislation imposing economic sanctions.

The statement on Friday, which the State Department said was issued at the request of Secretary of State George P. Shultz, said, "In the judgment of the United States government that a genuine process of reform is under way" in South Africa. It called on South African government and opposition leaders to take "courageous steps" to end the apartheid system and to end the blockade of communication between them.

The administration also elaborated on a statement it issued last month expressing regret at the recent arrest in South Africa of several opposition leaders, who are to be tried for treason. The arrests have increased criticism here and South Africa against the Botha government, on the grounds that they showed that administration was wrong to take seriously a Botha's call for dialogue.

But Friday's statement, while peering at the arrests "appear consistent with the new emphasis on dialogue and negotiation with the government itself has declared," did not alter its support for the announced "dialogue policy." "It is the judgment of the United States government that a genuine process of reform is under way in South Africa and that the government there is determined to move down the road of constructive change away from apartheid," said. "Important decisions and commitments have already been made."

After listing some of the steps that the administration praised, the statement said that, given the need to improve the overall political atmosphere, "we view with regret government's decision to arrest hold treason trials for a significant number of opposition leaders."

It said the decision to seek trials "detracts from the government's own stated commitment to a dialogue with black leaders."

The administration's latest statement was consistent with its encouragement of Mr. Botha's plans to loosen up some aspects of the country's apartheid policy. Botha has admitted people mixed and Indian racial desecration to Parliament for the first time.

But the administration's position toward South Africa has increasingly been criticized by many members of Congress, who have argued that the administration is not taking a firm enough stance with South African government.

In asserting that the U.S. government believes "a genuine process of reform" is under way, the State Department cited the following:

It said the South African government had halted the forced removals of blacks to tribal "homelands" while that policy was being viewed. It noted approvingly the government had decided to seek black community leaders to the Crossroads squatter settlement outside Cape Town on a plan urban renewal for the area, a decision to make it easier for blacks to obtain urban residential rights.

"However, it is also clear that the atmosphere for a broad reform process has not yet fully developed, that a meaningful dialogue between all South Africans, as President Botha called for in Jan. 25 speech, is indeed essential to this process," the statement said.

Bangladesh Vote Canceled, Martial Law Reimposed

United Press International

DHAKA, Bangladesh — government of Lieutenant General Mohammed Hussain Ershad canceled parliamentary elections for April.

The announcement on Saturday came a day after the general posed martial law and banned political activity. The Bangladesh Election Commission said April 6 contests would not be in line with General Ershad's decision to schedule a March 26 referendum on whether he should continue as president.

In a warning to opponents, General Ershad said that attempts to disrupt the peace would be dealt with by the military.

"The days of city-based parades and politics confusions, newspaper statements scribbling on walls must come end," he told troops during to an army base.

He said the armed forces deal forcefully with any out of order. The military government ordered urban residents remove all anti-government signs and posters from their and said those failing to do so would be punished.

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Banks Complain of Excess Liquidity

By Carl Gewirtz
International Herald Tribune
PARIS — What little business there was in the international credit market last week was well received, but there just wasn't very much of it. Bankers complain that there is too much liquidity, fueling competition for new business and driving borrowing charges down while at the same time the classic European and Asian borrowers have less need for new cash than in earlier years — due to lower domestic growth and strong export earnings from the United States.

SYNDICATED LOANS

East Germany finally settled on an increase to \$500 million on its seven-year loan which started out at \$150 million. Half the loan is to be repaid at 1/2-point over the prime rate and the other half at 3/4-point over the London Interbank Offered Rate.

The response makes it clear that subsequent loans coming out of Eastern Europe will be priced much more aggressively. Iceland's novel pricing formula — tied to the cumulative amount of paper underwriting banks actually have to take during the five-year life of the credit — was oversubscribed by some 40 percent and was increased to \$100 million from \$80 million initially sought. The bulk of the increase was in the portion of the loan underwritten by banks, lifted to \$70 million from \$55 million.

However, the rates on this fifth round of tendering for Swedish Euronotes show a continuing trend to less favorable terms for Sweden. The average price on the previous offering was 5.33 basis points below Libor and on the first drawing it was 13.56 basis points below Libor.

Meanwhile, bankers still are haggling with Bear Stearns on what shape its \$500-million loan will take — either Euronotes or a syndicated credit. Sears, Roebuck & Co. also is talking with banks about the possibility of tapping the Euronote market.

Burns Philpott Co. of Australia is soon expected to tap the market for a \$70-million note facility, of which half will be underwritten by banks and half sold on a best-efforts basis.

In the classic credit market, an Italian borrower this week is expected to seek a loan of 200 million Euronote units. ICO, the Spanish credit agency, currently is renegotiating terms on a loan arranged in 1979. ICO wants the \$142 million outstanding to be converted to a 10-year loan with interest set at 3/4-point over Libor. It formerly was paying 7/4-point over Libor.

Convertible Eurobonds Are Reborn

(Continued from Page 7)

exercise of the warrants will be announced when final terms are set. The prospects of a yen appreciation against the mark were a major factor appealing to investors.

The demise of the fixed-coupon sector has been an agony for the dealers who now have large amounts of capital tied up in paper that cannot be sold except at very substantial losses. Last month's Eurobond issues were of great concern to the dealers, particularly U.S. Treasury rates and with the U.S. market suffering some of its worst losses in recent years, finding a level at which the Eurobonds can be sold is like falling into a bottomless pit.

The killing blow was twofold — the massive coordinated action by central banks to stop the dollar's rise on the foreign exchange market and further rises in U.S. interest rates. Putting a lid on the exchange rate means that foreign holders of dollar securities may not be able to continue to reap big gains by holding dollar assets.

Bankers in Zurich reported that their clients were beginning to take their foreign exchange profits on bond holdings to swap into what look like cheap European currencies. There was no avalanche of selling, they said, but the move out of the dollar has definitely begun.

This was not a view shared by Geneva bankers, who said their clients were sitting still. And, contrary to all expectations, bankers in Japan reported that their clients were accumulating U.S. Treasury paper during last week's slump in New York.

Meanwhile, whatever the view on the currency (most experts expect the foreign exchange market to test the ability of central banks to keep a lid on the dollar), the bond market was a disaster area.

(Engelhard 11 1/2% of 1992, offered at 99 1/2, ended the week at 92) as signs increased that U.S. interest rates are destined to continue rising.

The only two fixed-coupon dollar issues were aimed at the Japanese domestic market. Citibank sold \$80 million of seven-year paper bearing a coupon of 10 1/2 percent and priced at 100 1/2. Japan Development Bank floated \$50 million of seven-year notes at par bearing a coupon of 10 1/2 percent.

Tokyo bankers report that institutional investors — who had been buying such paper as a way around domestic limits on purchases of foreign currency bonds — have withdrawn from the market and the paper (bearing terms substantially below what would be needed to attract genuine support) is now being sold at a discount to retail customers.

Bankers here said Chubu should have carried a coupon of 12 percent. No price was available on where the paper was trading. JDB's coupon was also unrealistic, but lead managers were supporting the price, holding it to a discount of 1 1/4 points.

The only bright spot from Japan was Tokai Bank's decision to withdraw from the "unofficial" calendar set by the Ministry of Finance. Tokai canceled its planned \$100 million of seven-year bonds rather than continuing to force the market or accepting the reality of a much higher coupon. Bankers said they hope other borrowers will exercise the same good sense.

Good sense was also lacking in the Eurosterling market. The currency, which has been under very heavy pressure, was viewed by continental investors as a good candidate for appreciation. The first issue, for Amex Overseas Credit, got off to a good start. Its \$30 million

of 11 1/2-percent, seven-year notes were offered at par.

But by week's end, an additional five issues had been launched: European Investment Bank, \$50 million of eight-year, 11 1/2-percent notes at 99 1/2; GMAC, \$40 million of 11-percent, five-year notes at par; Primary Industry Bank of Australia, \$25 million of 11 1/2-percent, nine-year bonds at par; Royal Trustco's \$30 million of 11 1/2-percent, five-year notes at par, and Sweden's \$100 million (of which only \$60 million was to be issued immediately) of 11 1/2-percent, 10-year bonds priced at 99 1/2.

As a result of this glut, all except GMAC (quoted at a discount of 1 1/4 points), ended the week at discounts of 2 points or more.

Two Australian dollar issues were launched last week. The Australian Industrial Development Corp. is raising \$30 million dollars, offering a coupon of 13 percent for three-year notes. Statewide, an Australian property group, is also seeking \$30 million for three years. Its notes, guaranteed by the Bank of Tokyo, carry a coupon of 13 1/4 percent.

In the floating rate note market, Swedish Export Credit offered \$150 million of five-year "mismatch" paper which will initially pay 70 basis points over the result of the U.S. Treasury bill auction on April 15. Thereafter, the coupon will be set at 70 basis points over the six-month bill rate, but will be re-fixed monthly.

This is the first mismatch floater to be priced using T-bills as a base, rather than the more usual London interbank offered or bid rates.

ENI, the Italian state holding company, offered \$200 million of eight-year notes with interest to be set at three-month Libor, with no margin.

After Record, Where Will Dow Peak? 1,400 Seen as Possible

By Vartanig G. Vartan
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — In a hold-your-breath finish, the Dow Jones industrial average set a record high on Friday but closed just below the elusive 1,300 mark. It ended at 1,299.36, thanks to Friday's sprint of 15.35 points. That put the index ahead 23.52 points for the week. Its previous record closing was 1,297.92 on Feb. 13. Despite a token decline in February, the industrial average gained 6 percent during the first two months of 1985. But the big question remains: What's ahead now? "My guess is that one day this coming week the Dow will close above 1,300 and then extend its run the next session," Jon Groveman, head of equity trading for La-

denburg, Thalmann & Co., said Friday. "But you rarely get a sustained move on the first breakout. So maybe the industrial average will get to 1,320, or somewhat higher, in March."

"Then I can see a sell-off down to perhaps the 1,280-1,300 area," he continued. "But during April, with large-capitalization stocks leading the way, the Dow could hit 1,400."

Richard Eakle, chief technical analyst for Morgan Stanley & Co., has been predicting since last June that the Dow will ultimately hit 1,380 to 1,420. On Friday, he said this level could be reached by mid-1985. "I think the market's two areas of leadership will be the

consumer and financial sectors," Mr. Eakle said. "The consumer sector would include the airlines, retailers, autos, publishers and railroads. Bank and insurance stocks — and eventually the utilities — should do well in the financial area."

Gail Dudack, a technical analyst for Pershing & Co., offered a different timetable. "I'm not wildly bullish now, although I think the Dow industrials could go to 1,325 during March," she said.

Phil Roth, a technical analyst for E.F. Hutton & Co., envisages the Dow as climbing no higher than 1,320 or 1,330 in March — and then entering "an extensive period of consolidation."

Rates Rise for Short-Term T-Bills

By Michael Quint
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Interest rates on U.S. Treasury securities were mixed Friday, with short-term rates rising while note and bond yields declined. The sharp increases in short-term rates, which amounted to 1/4-percentage point for Treasury bills due in three and six months, were

U.S. CREDIT MARKETS

attributed to growing fears that the Federal Reserve has begun to tighten monetary policy and encourage higher interest rates.

By late in the day, three-month bills were bid at 8.69 percent, up from 8.56 percent a day earlier, and well above the 8.20-percent rate of Feb. 14 or the 7.72-percent rate of Jan. 29.

Although many economists said evidence that the Fed had tightened policy was not conclusive, traders and investors have seen enough hints to be convinced that the central bank is encouraging higher rates.

Silicon Valley Still Waits for Sales Revival

(Continued from Page 7)

of telecommunications, computers, many home appliances and increasingly sophisticated parts for automobiles.

The market grew by nearly 50 percent last year in the United States, to \$1.6 billion in sales — record growth, even for an industry accustomed to averaging 20-percent increases a year.

But only about half of the 1984 increase actually was used in production, said Sheila Sandow, manager of communications for the trade association, based in San Jose, California, in the heart of the northern California region dubbed Silicon Valley. Remaining shipments were refused, resold or left in inventories, other analysts said.

The ratio of new orders to shipments peaked at a record 1.66 in December 1983, but fell steadily throughout 1984, to 0.64 in December.

The January figure, at 0.66, indicates the "order rate has stabilized," Miss Sandow said. "But until the excess inventory gets used up, the order rate won't start moving higher. Our best estimate is that it won't be until the end of the

second quarter, or beginning of the third quarter."

Intel, typically regarded as one of the strongest companies in the industry, apparently has been hit harder than some of its competitors by the falloff in orders.

Intel, which has headquarters in Santa Clara, California, makes the microprocessor chip used by International Business Machines Corp. as the centerpiece for its entry into the microcomputer business four years ago, the hugely successful PC. IBM's success spawned more than 60 imitators who use the same Intel-designed microchip, the 8088.

Mr. Moore, Intel's chairman, acknowledged in an interview that the computer makers vying in the IBM-compatible market last year vastly overestimated their sales.

He added that demand for a successor to the 8088, the 80286, which IBM uses in its popular AT microcomputer, has been "quite strong, but it doesn't carry the whole company."

Spokesmen for Motorola Inc., Advanced Micro Devices, Inc., and LSI Logic, in contrast to Intel, said their companies have no plans for layoffs, although orders have slackened in recent months.

"We have all gone through the same phenomena" of declining orders, said Charles E. Thompson, senior vice president and director of world marketing for Motorola's semiconductor division in Phoenix, Arizona. "Still, at this point we're very pleased that our major microprocessor customers are people who build cars, rather than personal computers."

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West German Builders Fight to Stay in Business

(Continued from Page 7)

center-right government's opposition to a broad-based rescue package like that begun in 1982, which involved subsidized mortgage rates for home builders and tax benefits for companies expanding their production facilities.

Particularly troubling to Bonn and the industry is that a robust overseas market, chiefly among OPEC members, for West German construction companies has shriveled and that newcomers from South Korea, China and Southeast Asia are making competition within those shrinking overseas markets all the more fierce.

Five years ago, West German contractors received 18 billion DM of orders annually from OPEC member states in the Middle East, Mr. Schneider points out, com-

pared with the 2 to 3 billion DM estimated for the current year.

Without steady demand abroad, Bonn will need to assess carefully the stagnant domestic situation, analysts say. The number of approved home-building projects dropped to 336,000 units in 1984 from 420,000 a year earlier, although the 1983 figure was inflated by the government's special subsidy program. Mr. Schneider's office predicts the number will fall this year to between 300,000 and 320,000 homes.

"The effect of the federal government's special construction program over the past two and a half years has been far worse than anticipated," said Volker Rüssig, an industry analyst at a Munich economic research institute, Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, or IFO.

"The setback to industry orders has come sooner than expected," as the boost from the public hand has rapidly dissipated.

IFO forecasts a 2-percent drop in construction spending this year, following a 2-percent rise in 1984 to 210 billion DM. Volume in the home-construction sector could fall at a rate more than double that for the industry overall. Mr. Schneider's office is hoping that a 4- to 5-percent rise in public outlays for construction will compensate for the expected drop in private-sector spending on building, leaving overall volume flat.

If trends continue, Mr. Hezion said, a major shakeout of middle-size construction companies could ensue. These companies are typically boxed into low-growth regions in northern West Germany, have limited liquidity and cannot afford to pay the huge "social costs" involved in laying off workers when making necessary capacity cuts. The result: increasing numbers of bankruptcy filings in place of temporary plant closures.

Unemployment among construction workers will certainly be higher this year than last, IFO's Mr. Rüssig said, but he gave no figures.

Mr. Schneider, the minister, sees unemployment falling below the current 200,000 figure by year-end. In 1983, unemployment in the construction sector stood at 120,000.

Mr. Schneider also asserts that wages under union contracts — including social costs — have risen to 45 to 55 DM an hour and have made labor "simply too expensive" for the construction industry.

These companies, including Mazda Motor Corp., Mitsubishi Motors, Isuzu Motors Ltd., Suzuki Motor Co. and Fuji Heavy Industries, which manufactures Subaru, were severely restricted by the restraints, which based allocations on historical sales patterns.

Since most of the cars made by the smaller Japanese companies are small and lower priced, the greatest financial pressure is likely to be felt by the companies whose focus is on the lower end of the auto market, notably Volkswagen of America and American Motors Corp., which is 46-percent owned by the French automaker Renault.

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Japan Warns Car Exporters

(Continued from Page 7)

Nakasone promised Mr. Reagan in Los Angeles on Jan. 2.

Takashi Ishihara, president of Nissan Motor Co. and chairman of the Japan Automobile Manufacturers Association, said in January that exports would increase by "10 to 15 percent at most" if the restraint program was ended.

But William E. Brock, the U.S. trade representative, later predicted a 40.5-percent increase, or about 750,000 units, to 2.6 million units annually.

Japanese officials on Saturday gave no indication of the size of an increase they consider likely to fall within the bounds of "prudence."

Roger B. Smith, the GM chairman, has said that GM wanted to import 200,000 cars a year from Japan, in which it holds a 34-percent share, for sale as Chevrolet Spectrums, and 100,000 cars from Suzuki, in which it owns a 5.3-percent interest, for sale as Chevrolet Sprinters.

Mr. Miller told the House subcommittee that Chrysler intended to ask Mitsubishi to supply it with 287,500 cars a year.

These potential new exports by the three Japanese firms to GM and Chrysler alone add up to an increase of 433,000 units, or 23.4 percent above the present quotas.

Detroit Awaits Tokyo's Action on Car Exports

By John Holusha
New York Times Service

DETROIT — For all that American automakers have done to make their industry, almost no one doubts that with the lifting of quotas on imports, Japan's car companies have it in their power to greatly increase their sales and deal De-

NEWS ANALYSIS

troit a new body blow. Whether they will in fact do so will most likely be determined over the next few weeks by the Japanese government.

The U.S. companies, shielded for four years from the full force of Japanese competition, have put themselves through the most dramatic overhaul in the industry's history. They have slashed costs, radically redesigned their production methods, and brought out new lines of attractive, fuel-efficient cars.

Yet they have been unable to match Japan's lower costs — thanks in good part to the strong dollar — or shake Japan's reputation for higher-quality cars.

"All attention now shifts to Tokyo," said Harvey Heimbach, an auto industry analyst with Merrill Lynch & Co. and one of many who expect the Japanese to temper their blow. "We believe the Japanese government will exert some control over exports to this country and

that there will not be the kind of free-for-all that some people have been predicting."

Many in the auto industry expect the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry, which has been supervising the so-called voluntary restraints for the last four years, to try to preside over an orderly growth of car exports to this country.

The agency's motivation, they say, is to promote the Japanese auto industry's long-term prosperity by avoiding the protectionist measures that a flood of Japanese cars in this market might set off.

Mr. Heimbach estimated that Japanese car shipments to the United States would increase only by about 200,000 or so units this year, to a total of 7.1 million cars.

But others, evidently doubting the agency's ability or inclination to control Japan's fractious auto companies, have predicted much higher levels of imports — increases of between 400,000 and 1 million units a year.

There is little doubt that Japanese auto companies have the ability to increase their sales in the United States because of the reputation for economy and quality they have established over the last decade.


In addition, because they can produce a small car for \$1,500 to \$2,000 less than U.S. manufacturers, the Japanese automakers also

China Warns on Patent Law

Reuters

BEIJING — Chinese courts are under orders to deal severely with violations of China's first patent law, which takes effect April 1, the Xinhua news agency said Saturday.

This announcement appears as a matter of record only



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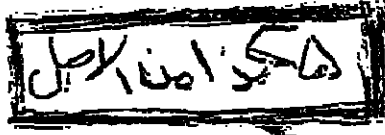
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February 14, 1985



SPORTS

Little-Known Skiers Win in Cup Races

By The Associated Press

FURANO, Japan—Two underdog skiers, Steven Lee of Austria and Daniel Mahler of Switzerland, raced to a first-place tie in a slalom ski race Sunday, ending the second straight World Cup upset at Furano.

The 26-year-old Lee, who won the slalom at the 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo, Austria, and the 1985 World Cup slalom in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, finished the race in 1:36.36, tied with Mahler.

Lee, who is from Innsbruck, Austria, and Mahler, who is from Chamonix, France, both finished the race in 1:36.36, tied with Mahler.

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His captain, the adventure sports writer and skier, said the team was "a little bit of a joke," but they were determined to win. The team was "a little bit of a joke," but they were determined to win.

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The ball becomes difficult to find during the match in Edinburgh, which Wales won, 25-21.

Proud Truth Does His Father Proud

By Bill Christine
Los Angeles Times Service

HALLANDALE, Fla.—Graumark is considered to be one of the best horses that never made it to the Kentucky Derby. In 1966, nine days before the Derby, Graumark broke down in the Blue Grass Stakes at Keeneland, still finishing second in a heroic performance, but never raced again.

On Saturday at Gulfstream Park, a 3-year-old son of Graumark, named Proud Truth, darted between Irish Sur and Banner Bob with less than 70 yards to go and won the \$300,000 Florida Derby by a neck, stamping himself as an early favorite for the Kentucky Derby two months from now.

In the race immediately preceding the Florida Derby, Chief's Crown, the 2-year-old champion for 1984, made his debut as a 3-year-old with a 3/4-length victory in the Swale Stakes over seven furlongs. The Associated Press reported.

It took Proud Truth most of the 1 1/4 miles of the Florida Derby to find his best foot, but from just past the eighth pole to the wire there was little doubt about the outcome. Banner Bob, the leader after six furlongs, faded to fourth. Cover Operation, second behind Banner Bob going into the lane, got squeezed by Proud Truth and Irish Sur in the stretch, but appeared to be finished anyway, and wound up fifth. Irish Sur was second, a length ahead of Do It Again Dan.

The disappointment for the 32,609 fans was Stephan's Odyssey, who was sent off as the even-money favorite. Winner of the Hollywood Futurity last year and second by only a neck to Proud Truth in the

Irish Ruggers Tie French; Welsh Hold Off the Scots

By Bob Donahue
International Herald Tribune

DUBLIN—Battling Irish rugby forwards matched French aggression, and center Michael Kiernan's five penalty goals were just enough for a 15-15 draw in Dublin on Saturday. French backs combined for two classy tries converted by fly-half Jean-Patrick Lescaur, who, in between, kicked a penalty goal.

In Edinburgh, the Scots twice came from behind to lead Wales thanks to tries by No. 8 Iain Paxton, but the second of flanker David Pickering's two tries put Wales in front for good near the end. An opening drop by re-instated fly-half Gareth Davies and a conversion and four penalty goals by fullback Derek Wyatt made it 25-21 for Wales. Scottish fly-half John Rutherford slotted the two drops and fullback Peter Dods kicked two conversions and a penalty goal.

The weather was dry and overcast for both matches—and the refereeing controversial. The Welsh coach, John Bevan, called referee René Houquet of France "incompetent." The French coach, Jacques Fouroux, claimed that the two Welsh touch judges who assisted referee Kerry Fitzgerald, of Australia, pulled mainly France.

To neutral observers, both results looked fair. Welsh initiative and overall domination earned a victory that Welsh mistakes kept narrow. French mistakes—"too many," Fouroux admitted—threw away a victory that was there for the taking.

So the Five Nations tournament will reach mid-March with four teams still unbeaten and going for first place. Only Scotland has lost—three times now, with England next to face.

With half of the 10 annual Five Nations matches played, there have been 20 penalty goals and only 10 tries. No one has scored a try against France. There have already been nine drops, which is more than the seven kicked in 10 matches last year.

Six drops were missed in Dublin on Saturday—three by Lescaur, one by fullback Serge Blanco and two by Irish fly-half Paul Dean. Kiernan connected with five out of seven attempted penalty goals, but Lescaur missed one of his two and Blanco missed one. The theoretical score, with all kicks succeeding, would be 33-27, which gives an approximate measure of French territorial superiority.

France's scoring opportunities considerably outnumbered Ireland's.

But so did France's mistakes. In particular, Lescaur's late bump into Dean embroiled Kiernan to tie the score at 6-6 after France had taken the lead with its first try. And when flanker Jacques Gruat late-charged Dean in the third quarter, Kiernan's fifth penalty



In hard-fought match between French and Irish in Dublin, victory was up for grabs before contest ended at 15-15.

made it 15-9 and the second converted try would not be enough for victory.

Both tries were gems. In the sixth minute captain Philippe Dittmars ran a penalty from kickable range, the forwards drove toward the posts and scrumhalf Jérôme Gallion switched the attack leftward. From center Didier Codorniou the ball went to Blanco and on to left wing Patrick Estève, who drew three defenders leftward before sidestepping inside them and straightening for a bee-line burst to paydirt.

From a lineout on the right in the 17th minute of the second half, Gallion and Lescaur fed center Philippe Sella as Lescaur booted behind him. Instead of flipping the pass back to the fly-half, as would seem likely, Sella checked, dived and fed Laurent Pardo, who came in unnoticed from the distant right wing. The move's fifth pass was for Codorniou, who crossed

unwatched. "Beautiful," said the Irish coach, Mick Doyle. "But we are happy." Doyle also said, referring to his young team's blow-for-blow resistance to unusual French ferocity, "We stuck by our guns."

There were complaints in the Irish camp Saturday night—and bitter claims in the Dublin press on Sunday—that the game had been too rough. The French disagreed, recalling fiery Irish play in past seasons and indicating that they felt across this time determined to brook no intimidation.

In fact, players exchanged jerseys and handshakes at the end. The Irish team bus crossed the city led by a police motorcycle escort with foghorn sirens hooting cheerfully in a dusk drum. The rest, starting with the joint banquet at the thronged Shelbourne Hotel, was forecast by a French supporter's banner at the stadium: "Victory or defeat, for us it's a fête."

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SCOREBOARD

Basketball

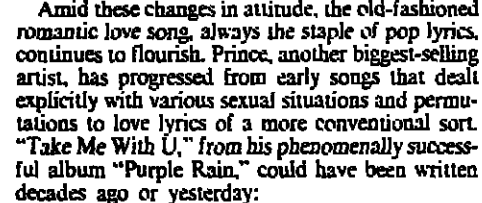
A Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Atlantic Division

Their Message for Listeners Today

*Under my thumb her eyes are just kept to herself
Under my thumb, well, I can still look at someone else*



There must be some way out of here, said the joker
the thief.
There's too much confusion. I can't get no relief.
Businessmen they drink my wine, plowmen dig my
earth.

*I work for the county out on 95
All day I hold a red flag and watch the traffic pass me
by
In my head I keep a picture of a pretty little miss
Someday mister I'm gonna lead a better life than this.*

limit it to 25 copies known to be extant, compared to only five which he thinks of as *rare*. "Books like James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) published in various editions totaling 1,000 copies, and Newton's *Principia* (1687), of which Owens' Girtinger's census has located about 270 copies, are not really very scarce. There are both large numbers in institutions and sufficient numbers (at a price) to satisfy one wanting a copy and willing to

Oh. (Oh now has an *h* when the *O* sound is followed immediately by punctuation. "O Mistress Mine" has no punctuation after the *O*; "Oh, I stubbed my toe!" does. Another important use of the naked *O* is in what the Greeks called *apostrophe*, not the high-riding possessive comma but the rhetorical technique of addressing someone who is not physically present: it is the difference between "O Lord" and "Oh, waiter!")

LEAD TRIBUNE
 tive with your text. You
 and consent prepayment is
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MIDDLE EAST
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 Tel: 25214.
 Tel: 5611.
 Tel: 5614485.
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 Tel: 416535.
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